/55 cont./

881 278 normally, and above all she will not be worn out by too frequent childbearing, since all these remedies in the long run are made use of to avoid the woman's having these cares, so much so that in the case of the very poor girls sterilization or at least a very limited fecundity is hoped for, because they know that they and their offspring will be practically in the hands of the stronger groups who can easily enslave their sons and daughters and nephews and nieces by the arbitrary and exaggerated use of legal institutions.

881 278 797 Even if the girl enters the Capuchin mission and for this reason does not go through with the initiation in her home, and even if her parents, influenced by the missionaries, decide to forego this custom or are prevented by poverty from holding it, she does not forget -- and her companions back her up -- to take the medicines prescribed even though she does not undergo the regimen of seclusion. During a long period of time -- which shows what value she herself sets on her novitiate -- every morning she takes the juice of herbs which she knows of or which are given to her, to avoid menstruation and to obtain the objectives mentioned above. (In order to clarify further of the significance with respect to maternity in the initiation of young women, we refer the reader to the section Death of the First-born, Chap. I, pp. 10 ff.)

881 286 The economic aspect which she must learn and which by the perfection and acquisition of new techniques now plays a very important part is that of weaving. The woman during her seclusion improves her knowledge of this trade, which she began to learn during her prepubertal period. This matter has so much importance that in cases where a girl has been abducted and her maternal relatives present their claim for compensation payment, the man can refuse to buy her, alleging she is not able to weave. Furthermore, the woman by weaving earns money for the support of the home which is in her care. She must also supply her kin, including her husband, with guayucos /loincloths/, saddle blankets /pellones/, and other woven necessities.

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462 The Guajiro boy has the job of carving the gourd vessels used as domestic utensils, and it is also the men who make the hats and headpieces, or kiára, which pure Indians still use as an adornment in their festivals.

As war is essentially a masculine occupation, men make the weapons used, arrows and poisons, even those of magic value.

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The heads of each family, and in their absence the sons in chronological order, or the nephews, sons of a sister, are those in charge of directing and ordering the daily work, especially when free or communal labor is not available and paid labor is used.

We may also consider as masculine occupations in La Guajira participation in community work and in mutual help such as making wells, dams, cemeteries, roads, etc.

The woman, on her part, has in her charge a multiplicity of activities, among which we can enumerate the following as the principal ones:

462 Weaving. This activity includes spinning, dyeing, and weaving the cloth itself. At the present time this occupation is 286 dying out, particularly spinning, because the ease of obtaining imported thread makes this laborious work almost unnecessary. With respect to the weaving itself, foreign-made cloth and the trade in Colombian cloth supply the natives, especially the women, with dresses of varioud colors and diverse quality, which has caused a decline in this feminine activity, at least with regard to the use of homemade material for apparel. But, on the other hand, the acquisition of new techniques and the improvement of autochthonous ones in the Capuchin mission school has brought about greater development in the weaving of hammocks and bags, which, going beyond domestic needs, bring a good price in the markets outside and even within the peninsula, and in this way constitutes an appreciable source of income for the women. In addition to this, certain items of clothing such as the Guajiro belt, traditionally worn by the men and woven at

/228 cont./

462 home, have not found a substitute and have to be made by the maternal relatives or by the wife.

286 Among the items that have survived we should include the blouses used by girls of prepubertal age.

The application of weaving by the women extends to the manufacture of some parts of the harness for horses, such as cinches, surcingles, saddle blankets, croup belts, etc., in the making of which they employ diverse techniques and both autochthonous methods and those introduced through acculturation.

While the manufacture of saddles, trappings, and accoutrements of horses is done by the men, the women make the adornments for them and the headstalls of the halters and blinkers, [492] [554] with the complicated system of knots and tassels which indicate the standing and wealth of the rider. /229/

Finally, it is strictly the women's task to make all the utensils used in weaving, from the most elementary type of loom made with two vertical sticks and used for making the classical Indian hammock /chinchorro/, to the most complicated, such as those used for weaving double-faced hammocks; and from the wooden bobbins to the vegetable colors and mordants used in dyeing the fabric or the thread.

462 Domestic work is also women's work, and it includes obtaining and preparing food and drink, and serving, storing, and preserving it, as well as killing small mammals and domestic birds, and cleaning and seasoning the intestines and other offal of cattle, sheep, and goats.

[296] Within the Guajiro dwelling the woman maintains cleanliness and order, and she is also held responsible for making, repairing, and washing the articles of clothing of her husband, her children, and herself.

The care of minor children occupies much of the Guajiro woman's time (Cf. Chap. II) as does their training, and it is exclusively the women's function to look after and instruct the girls during the traditional seclusion at puberty. Also, it is their responsibility to teach feminine tasks to their young female consanguineous relatives.

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472 there may be scarce; living in her employer's home, while it may
463 satisfy her basic needs, imposes on her a discipline to which she is not accustomed. For this reason, she looks for a way to combine both systems and sells firewood and water in the urban centers, carries messages, washes clothes, clears away rubbish, sells coal, /234/ milk, and foodstuffs, or cooks at some house. But in the evening she returns to her home, /usually/ an enramada /a shelter of branches/ on the outskirts of the city.

Toward the north coast of the peninsula, in the wooded lands of this zone, divi-divi occurs in sufficient quantity to enable the Guajiro woman to collect and sell it to the whites, who send it to the interior.

The women also take part in the work in the saltworks, as we have seen, in order to assist their husbands in the transport of the material.

The women of Jarara have been the principal makers of pottery, since they have abundant raw material at their disposal, which is lacking in other regions. For this reason, at the present time, they try to supply the entire peninsula by making a considerable supply with which they travel through the country and obtain an adequate remuneration either by barter or by sale.

Weaving of cloth, as we have said, supplies the women with
● 286 a source of income. Some well-to-do Indian and mestizo women
463 have organized a /specialized/ division of labor to supply the
472 demand for hammocks and bags in the markets of Maracaibo and in some towns in the department of Magdalena.

These women, well informed about the state of the market, prepare in their homes hammocks of fashionable colors and regulation size. They hand over a design of their own or one copied from a magazine to a poor Guajiro woman who takes it to her house and works it up on her own loom during her spare time. Once the central part is woven the owner hands it on to a worker expert in finishing, then a third one with her spinning tackle makes the cords. While these portions are being made in sequence, the fringes to match the color of the central part have been made by

/234 cont./
472 one or more other women, who if required will complete the
463 work by making the tassels that adorn it. Each one of these
women workers is controlled by the owner, of the raw material
236 from whom they receive it. They do it in their respective homes.
The completed work is paid for in accordance with the skill and
quality /of its execution/ and not by the time spent on it. The
finished product is the property of the owner of the raw material,
who can sell it at her convenience. The tools and equipment
employed belong to the workers. Another common practice is
for some poor women to weave the cloth on their own account,
and later to sell it to a rich woman who has facilities for bringing
the product to the market. The cloth is always sold at a lower
price to give the intermediary a margin of profit. /235/

A third form consists of receiving orders and weaving personally, or using weavers who receive wages and who work at home, hammocks, bags, and items of harness previously ordered by the merchants.

An occupation that allows the Guajiro woman to obtain some
472 income is dressmaking. Guajiro women learn to sew the robes
463 for both masculine and feminine use, and other articles of apparel,
which they sew not only for their home needs and their relatives
but also to fill orders from customers.

In the Sierra de Jarara and the Sierra de Macuira and in other places distant from urban centers, some old women live who are acquainted with the magic and curative properties of various plants. This knowledge is usually transmitted from mother to eldest daughter and is much sought after and remunerated in proportion to the importance of the case, its efficacy, and the prestige of the herbal expert who prescribes it, and the importance of the person who requests it.

Another profession is that of midwife, who receives payment in relation to her ability and the means of whoever applies for her services.

Unfree work. This is done by bond-servant or slave labor. See chapter /VIII/ Slavery and Bond Service. /page 236 is blank/

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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Above left: *Youth playing a flute*

Above right: *Little girl with beads*

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Right: *Riders*

[Facing p. 64]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

those we had left, but just as simple. Inside were hammocks slung this way and that. Along the walls were carrying-nets filled with things, and earthenware vessels lay scattered about the floor of hard-trodden sand. Some of these vessels were grey, others reddish-brown, some had necks and handles. One was an obvious imitation of a Dutch liqueur jar. It was not far to Puerto Estrella, to which schooners from the Dutch islands came.

Most of the earthenware vessels had red decoration. Some, with wavering lines, were obviously the work of the oldest of the women, who was frail and almost blind; but there was no fault in the shape of the vessel. The woven cloths were hung up in a special shelter. The warp hung vertical and ran like an endless belt over an upper and a lower pole. Several related tribes, members of the Aruak family, use the same method. When the cloth is finished, it forms a ring, and is then cut up.

They were working on a man's belt or sash. The everyday belt was only a couple of inches wide, but sashes intended for more solemn occasions were some eighteen inches broad and very colourful. They used red, yellow, black and white yarn and the pattern was most interesting. Ceremonial cloaks are also woven for the men, just as colourful as the sashes, but, to my sorrow, I was never able to acquire a really fine specimen. They were simply too expensive. The rich chiefs collected them, but custom decreed that they must be wrapped in all their cloaks when they died, which meant that none were inherited. The men's everyday cloaks I have already described; they pulled them on and then twisted them so that their chest was bared. The women's dress was considerably more Spartan: it was a wide tunic, made like a sack with holes for the head and arms, and dyed black with divi-divi or brown with stuff from some other plant. Their loin-cloth only became visible when they were working in the shade or indoors and removed their tunics. It too was black or undyed. They themselves thought that there was no call to use a nice patterned cloth for underclothes. Little girls often had patterned loin-cloths, but then they did not wear tunics

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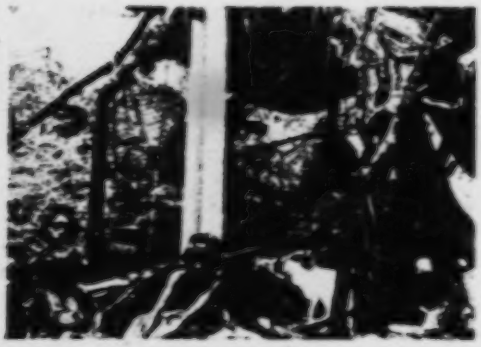

Work-hut with warp set up for a man's sash

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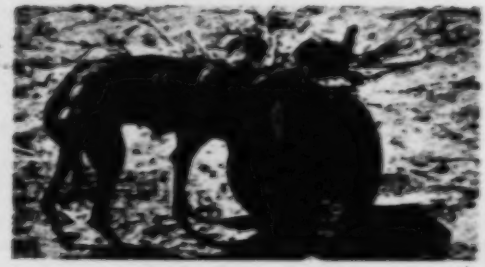

The thin Indian dogs licked the last out of the pot

Below: *Indian chiefs, in ceremonial clothes, on their way to a* purchi

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[Facing p. 81]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

quarrelsome, the parting drink of spirits having had its effect. One old man after much swaying in the saddle was finally thrown off by his jibbing mule. He landed in a prickly bush and became frantic. He wanted to see blood. Luckily his weapons were on his saddle, but he managed to remove one of his spurs and began stabbing with it at those who were trying to help him up. Francisco received a jab, but he and a couple of others managed to overpower the old ruffian, whom they bound and tied to his saddle. Then his wife led him and his mount away.

One by one the groups went off in their various directions. We came to the rancho of the young Indian, our new friend. He had several big huts, built on the sand, where there was no greenery or shade. He explained that when the rains came, it did not become swampy there, as in most other places, but the water ran through the sand and you could walk dry-shod. There were looms in several of the open huts. At one sat our host's young, light-complexioned wife, who undoubtedly was a great beauty by Guajiro standards, and in another his aged mother with a wrinkled clever face.

We were offered goat's milk as a refreshment. I was always amazed at the care with which these Indians collected the small quantities of milk the goats yielded, for each gave a mere squirt. We took a gulp of goat's milk in order to avoid having to drink spirits.

The women were in a great bustle, evidently getting a spread ready. The Guajiro are hospitable, and when strangers or friends come they must have the best the house can provide. If need be, the host gives up his own hammock and lies on the ground.

Our host had plenty of hammocks. After resting a while, my wife went inside to look at the weaving, while I produced one of the pistols I had bought at an auction and demonstrated it, shooting a couple of shots, the noise and smoke of which appeared highly satisfactory to our host. Hastily he drew me aside and whispered that he had something that ought to interest me. He had *sua* and was willing to part with this precious, sought-after article in exchange for my noisy pistol. After all I had a companion without a

They make designs on 302
their skin with black stain and tattoo themselves, especially on the arms 304
and legs, with charcoal dust pigment. At least one of the marks is [219]
the same as the tribal brand.

MANUFACTURES

Women have a rather definite daily routine. They arise before day- 512
break, milk the cows, and prepare the morning meal for the men, who 462
then go off to fish, hunt, fight, or merely loaf and drink chicha. They fill their jugs at the water hole and then spend the rest of the day collecting wild cotton, spinning, weaving, making ropes, grinding corn, making butter, cheese, and chicha, and performing other household duties. They milk again in the evening.

Textiles are probably the best *Goajiro* manufactures. Their other 286
products are pottery (which is the virtual monopoly of a few sibs), bows 32
and arrows, and saddles and harnesses.

Spinning and weaving.—Wild cotton is collected, the seeds removed 283
by hand, and small wads are rolled around a thin stick to form small tubes about half an inch (12.5 mm.) in diameter and 6 inches (15 cm.) long. These tubes are then spun into thread with the use of a spindle, one end of which rests in a calabash bowl on the ground. Yarns are [384]
colored with vegetable dyes, especially divi-divi.

Almost every household owns a loom, before which the women sit for 286
hours weaving hammocks and bright-colored belts for men and horses. The warp is made from one long continuous thread wound around two thick horizontal poles, the upper one firmly attached to two uprights, the lower one hanging loose and maintaining the tension. As the work progresses, the cloth is moved forward around the poles, so that an endless strip of cloth is produced, which is then cut. Shuttles are passed through by hand, the warp being shifted by means of a threading arrangement which takes hold of alternate strands. On a piece of cloth about 2 yards wide an inch of weave every three hours is considered very fast work.

Containers.—Most cooking utensils are made of crude earthenware by 323
a few tribes in the vicinity of the Teta, a peak near the middle of the 415
peninsula. Spoons and forks are cut out of calabashes. Some Indians 439
possess enameled mugs and pots obtained from itinerant traders.

Weapons.—Almost every man possesses a good rifle. Cartridges are 411
scarce and expensive and must be smuggled in. Firearms are consequently reserved mainly for warfare, and the bow and arrow is the everyday weapon.

The bow is made from the hard, springy wood of the black palm. It is almost round in cross section, 5 to 6 feet (1.7 to 2 m.) long, and strung with a special sisal cord. The end which rests on the ground is protected

/541 cont./

614 Crist (p. 485) wrote: "The Indians of the Guajira are divided into various clans or blood groups, castas, each with its distinguishing totem representing the animal with whose traits, according to legend, the clan was originally imbued" /cited in English/.

614 212 The thought complex that has solidified around the totem of our Indians — to mention it once more in conclusion — gets significant confirmation of its truely totemistic character by the visible symbol for each one of the three dozen of them. None of these totem signs — whether one calls them clan signs, symbols, monograms, emblems, property marks, or something else — is revealed as typically [28] Christian or Spanish in design. The Indian women of olden times wove them into their pieces of weaving, and, as has already been mentioned above (p. 10), the men put their clan-signs on other objects. According to the myth, the [173] original ancestor of a given clan was assigned it in an individual presentation by Mareiwa himself, and it has been retained down to the present day. /See the foreign text for the list of "Sources Mentioned," pp. 541-542./

/542/ Supplement:

114 614 As a consequence of a long stay in East Asia, which I concluded a short time ago, two pertinent articles first came to my attention when the article presented here was already in printing:

[113] Santa Cruz, Antonio, "Acquiring Status in Guajiro Society," Anthropological Quarterly, 33, 1960, pp. 115-127.

Wilbert, Johannes, "Identificación Etno-Lingüística de Tribus Indígenas del Occidente de Venezuela," Mem. Soc. de Ciencias Natur. La Salle, 21, 1961, pp. 5-14.

Both articles refer to the clan-division among the Guajiro described by me. The almost completed printing of my article, however, does not permit me to discuss them in detail; therefore this brief reference must suffice.